

**The Zikawei 徐家匯 Manuscript Copy (1885) of  
Wang Zheng's Renhui yue 仁會約 (1634)  
[revised, with footnotes]**

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Editor's Note on Wang Zheng 王徵

Wang Zheng (1571-1644) of Jingyang 涇陽 in Shaanxi province, is one of only twenty-one baptized Christians who held the highest scholar-official degree of *jushi* which he attained in 1622 at the age of 51. Approximately a decade younger than the Three Pillars of the Early Christian Church (Yang Tingyun, Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao), Wang Zheng is relatively unknown. He is thought to have been baptized by the Jesuit Diego de Pantoja in Beijing in 1616 with the name of Philippe. His intellectual interests were focused primarily in the applied sciences and he collaborated with the Jesuit Johann Terrenz Schieck (Terentius) (1576-1630) in translating European works on mechanical principles and instruments, drawing the illustrations with his own hand. Wang was one of the first Chinese to study Latin and it was at his invitation that the Jesuit Nicolas Trigault visited Shaanxi in 1625, shortly after the discovery of the Nestorian Tablet. Wang was a man of great moral integrity which he demonstrated in his death by suicide (starvation) after the fall of Beijing to the rebel Li Zicheng in 1644.

The inclusion of *Renhui yue* (Rules of the humanitarian society) in modern editions of the collected works of Wang Zheng 王徵 (1571-1644) is due to Xiang Da 向達 (1900-1966) who in 1937 in Paris, at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, made a manuscript copy of the only printed copy that has been preserved of *Renhui yue*, viz.

Chinois 7348,<sup>1</sup> even though one folio (f. 2) is missing and at some spots, especially towards the end, a few characters have disappeared.<sup>2</sup>

Before turning to the Zikawei manuscript copy (1885) of *Renhui yue*, a short look at the contents of Wang's text is needed. Besides Wang's introduction (頁1, 3 ff., dated 22 Sept. 1634 崇禎七年後八月一日), the main text (44 ff.) consists of the text of the actual 'statutes' of the 'humanitarian society' (ff. 6a-10a; pp. 539-547) which text forms the nucleus<sup>3</sup> embedded in quotations (ff. 1-31) from Iacomo Rho's *Aijin xing quan* 哀矜行詮 (Comments on the works of mercy, 1633)<sup>4</sup>, the text that, according to his introduction, inspired Wang to set up this humanitarian society:

1) ff. 1b-3b (pp. 530-534) cf. *Aijin xing quan*, pp. 77-79;

2) ff. 4a-5b (pp. 535-538) and ff. 11a-16a (pp. 549-559), selected passages from the first juan (總論, pp. 39-76) of *Aijin xing quan* (viz. pp. 69-71 and pp. 41, 42, 46, 51, 53 [cf. Acts 10], 58, 59, 61, 63, 65, 68, 71, 73);

3) ff. 17a-31a (pp. 561-590), 透形哀矜詳解 / detailed explanation of the bodily works of mercy), selected passages from *Aijin xing quan*, second juan, ff. 2a-40b (pp. 81-158), explaining the seven bodily works of mercy: 1) pp. 561-569 (selected from pp. 81-97); 2) pp. 569-572 (pp. 99-108); 3) pp. 572-576 (pp. 109-119); 4) pp. 576-581 (pp. 121-133); 5) pp. 581-584 (pp. 135-141); 6) pp. 584-587 (pp. 143-149); 7) pp. 587-590 (pp. 151-158).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 139, note 1 (pp. 139-156; *Renhui yue*), of the most recent edition: Lin 2011; see also p. 488. For a facsimile of Chinois 7348, see CCT BnF, vol. 6, pp. 523-616 (the cover with the title-strip *Renhui 仁會* and with two seals, IHS and the library in Paris, was not reproduced). A copy present in Korea was destroyed in 1791, see *China Mission Studies (1550-1800) Bulletin* 5 (1983), p. 34 (article by Donald Baker, pp. 28-36).

<sup>2</sup> Wang Zhongmin 王重民, preface (Febr. 4, 1948) to *Wang Zheng yishu* 王徵遺書 (an eventually unpublished collection of four Christian texts by Wang Zheng), see Lin 2011, p. 466 (sub no. 2, *Renhui yue*). Wang Zhongmin complained that there is no other copy with which it could be compared. The missing folio is not indicated in modern editions, e.g. Lin 2011, p. 140, line 21 (missing folio 2 between 勸人 and 凡.).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 278 of Erik Zürcher, "Christian Social Action in Late Ming Times: Wang Zheng and his 'Humanitarian Society'", in Jan A. M. De Meyer & Peter M. Engelthiet (eds.), *Linked Faiths: Essays on Chinese Religions and Traditional Culture in honour of Kristofer Schipper* (Sinica Leidensia, 46), Leiden: Brill, 1999, pp. 269-286. At the end an English translation of ff. 6a-10a is appended: "The statutes of the charitable society" (pp. 282-286).

<sup>4</sup> CCT/ARSI (2002), vol. 5, pp. 1-236.

The last two sections (ff. 32-39) quote two other Jesuit writings:

1) ff. 32a-35b, 述哀矜善功二端 (pp. 591-598), see Vagnone, *Jiaoyao jielie* 教要解略 (1615)<sup>5</sup>, *juan xia*, ff. 3a5-6a4 (pp. 245-251: 今略陳哀矜之善功二端 ...), part of the comments on the fourteen bodily and spiritual works of mercy (形神哀矜之行十四端) in a book that explains one of the earliest catechisms, [Tianzhu] *Jiaoyao* 教要 (pp. 241-252).

2) ff. 36a-39b, 述仁愛德美七端 (pp. 599-606): selected passages from *juan 2* of Diego de Pantoja's *Qike* 七克 (The seven overcoming or victories, 1614)<sup>6</sup> which *juan* treats the capital sin of envy 嫉妒 (ff. 1a-13a) and the virtue of love 仁愛 that overcomes it (ff. 13a3-21): ff. 36a-36b7 (cf. TXCH, vol. 2, ff. 13a5-13b4/pp. 817-818); ff. 36b9-39b5 (cf. 15a2-17a1/pp. 821-825)<sup>7</sup>; f. 39b8-9 (cf. 18b2-3/p. 828).

Finally, the appendix about European charitable institutions (ff. 40a-44b, pp. 607-616: 附錄 西國用愛二端) seems to consist of free quotations from Giulio Aleni's *Zhifang waji* 職方外紀 (1623), viz. *juan 2*, ff. 5b2-8b3, the section entitled: 歐邏巴敬天愛人之路 (Great summary of revering Heaven and caring for people)<sup>8</sup>. However, the appendix also contains parts not found in *Zhifang waji*.<sup>9</sup>

Although BNF's Chinois 7348 remains a unique printed copy, it is not clear why the manuscript copy at the Zikawei Library was not consulted for a text edition of

<sup>5</sup> CCT / ARSI (2002), vol. 1, pp. 117-306.

<sup>6</sup> See TXCH, vol. 2, pp. 689-1126.

<sup>7</sup> As regards the first passage (ff. 15a2-15b8/pp. 821-822; cf. *Renhui yue*, ff. 36b9-38a1/pp. 600-602), notice that Wang changed 'Shangdi' (Sovereign-on-High) into 'Tianzhu' (Lord of Heaven); cf. p. 184, note 73 (821-822) of Nicolas Standaert, 'Wang Zheng's Ultimate Discussion of the Awe of Heaven and the Care of Human Beings', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 29 (1998), pp. 163-188. Also notice that at the end of the last passage (16b4-17a1) Wang omitted a saying about friendship by Seneca 色繡朋 (ff. 16b9-17a1, p. 824/25).

<sup>8</sup> TXCH vol. 3, pp. 1364-1370, see Wang Zhongmin (see above, note 2) in Lin Jiechang 2011, p. 466; cf. Zürcher 2000 (see above, note 3), p. 278.

<sup>9</sup> e.g. ff. 41a1-41b4 (pp. 609-610), cf. *Zhifang waji*, *juan 2*, f. 6a2 / p. 1365, between 男女有別 (f. 6a1, cf. f. 41a1) and 其愛人如己 (f. 6a2, cf. f. 41b5).

*Renhui yue*.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, Xu Zongze in his catalogue of 1949 (actually finished around 1940) reproduces the text of Wang Zheng's introduction [1949, pp. 74-75 (reprint 2006, pp. 57-58)] and gives a short summary of the main text (see also Lin 2011, p. 451). When in 2009, *Chinese Christian Texts from the National Library of France* came out, the editors included *Renhui yue* (Chinois 7348), reproducing the text of the missing folio 2,<sup>11</sup> from the Zikawei manuscript of *Renhui yue*, of which Erik Zürcher in the early 1980s had managed to receive a copy, together with some 24 other Chinese Christian texts. Zürcher had asked someone who at that time had access to the ZKW books to make copies of Christian texts, especially by converts and by Alfonso Vagnone. As Zürcher could not order specific titles, he had just to await of which texts he would receive copies. Thus, among the ca. 25 eventually copied texts there were several 'duplicates', copies of already available texts, although there were also unique ones, such as *Buru wengao* 補儒文告 of Shang Huqing 尚清卿. As to the manuscript copy of *Renhui yue* (*Ren'ai hui yue*), we (and apparently also those who consulted these copies in Leiden) had the impression that, maybe apart from the presence of folio 2, it was a mere duplicate, and hardly interesting.<sup>12</sup>

When in the spring of 2009, I could consult in Shanghai the virtually entire Zikawei collection of Christian texts,<sup>13</sup> I also saw a manuscript copy of *Renhui yue*, that is, a copy-booklet [ca. 17.5 x 14.5 cm] of 38 double folios (format: half-folios of 10 columns, with 23 characters per column), copied in 1885 (verso of the unnumbered

<sup>10</sup> Possibly it was overlooked because on the cover it is entitled *Ren'ai hui yue* 仁愛會約, cf. Xu 1949, p. 429 sub section 462 (reprint 2006, p. 317).

<sup>11</sup> See vol. 6, pp. 531-532 (with one mistake: for 聖多瑪斯 read 聖人多瑪斯, as in Rho's text).

<sup>12</sup> Zürcher (see above, note 3) remarked: "Xu Zongze (*op. cit.*, p. 429) mentions a ms. version of only the first seven pages in the library of Xujia hui, Shanghai, with the variant title *Ren'ai hui yue*" (p. 271, note 5). Actually Xu (1949) only mentions on that page the title 仁愛會約, but the Leiden copy of this *Ren'ai hui yue* (手抄本編號 462 號 2-3-2) initially seemed to consist of only seven sheets (covering Chinois 7348 up to f. 7a7); apparently the remaining pages or sheets (8-35) were found later, because during the 1980s Mrs. Anik Merens, Zürcher's secretary, bound all 35 sheets into one volume (library number: 1978.10) together with three other manuscript copies of texts present in Zikawei and a photocopy of Chinois 7296.

<sup>13</sup> For a list, see *Shino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 33 (2011), pp. 1-41; esp. p. 13: SH 159 / ZKY 462 (Xu 429: *Ren'ai hui yue*), Wang Zheng, *Ren hui yue* 仁愛會約, ms. (copy-book), 38 ff. (10/23), copied in 1885 (Guangxu 11). Modern handwritten copy: ISI (Leiden, Sinological Institute) 1978.10. Although it does not prove that the 1885 manuscript copy reproduced a printed copy, the layout of the signature of Wang's introduction is the same as in the printed copy (p. 527; e.g. 書于 at the bottom of an empty column).

folio at the end: 大清光緒拾壹年抄). Later on, this document got the acquisition-number 00095676B (仁會約抄本 1 冊).<sup>14</sup>

Then, I noticed for the first time the presence, at the very end (ff. 36-37 and f. 38), of a postface 跋 (same date as that of Wang's introduction: first day of the intercalary eighth month, or 22 Sept. 1634) by Zhang Bingxuan 張炳璿, and an undated short note (小言) by Shang Yingchang 尚應昌 about the printing of *Renhui yue*. These two texts I copied by hand, but after returning home I found out that they were already present in the modern manuscript copy of *Renhui yue* at Leiden, the presence of which no one had noticed before, including myself. Moreover, earlier I had not been aware that the printed copy contained a few defective parts (see above) and that the Zikawei copy might supply the missing characters in especially the last sentences of *Renhui yue*,<sup>15</sup> that is the final sentence of the two paragraphs which Wang Zheng is quoting, followed by his note on the text from which he took these two paragraphs. Especially the three missing characters before *quantu* 全圖 made Wang Zhongmin, in 1948, reluctant to definitively conclude that Wang Zheng had taken these two paragraphs from Aleni's *Zhifang waiji*, although there are also some differences (see Lin 2011, p. 466). The Zikawei copy justifies Wang Zhongmin's reserve, as it reads:

(... 愈犯危險。其功愈高。故也。)  
此地海全圖說中。... 其他種種美俗不備錄。... <sup>16</sup>

*Dihai quantu* 地海全圖 undoubtedly refers to *Wanguo dihai quantu* 萬國地海全圖, as the Western world maps confiscated in Fujian in 1612 were called and which Diego de Pantoja and Sabatino de Ursis by order of the Wanli emperor translated and

<sup>14</sup> Tian Xu Zongze knew this manuscript is strongly suggested by the fact that he reproduced a mistake from it: on fol. 2a2 the printed text reads: 所不可不急行者 (p. 525; cf. Lin 2011, p. 139), but Xu 1949 (p. 74; cf. reprint 2006, p. 57) does not have the characters 急行者 which are lacking in the 1885 manuscript.

<sup>15</sup> Lin 2011, p. 156 (CCT/BnF, vol. 6, p. 615/16):

(... 愈□□□□□□故也。)  
□□□全圖說中。詳敘西國風尚語也。其□種種美俗不備錄。  
特錄此二端。以為仁會之一證云。

<sup>16</sup> The remaining missing characters, supplied by the ZKW copy are: Lin 2011, p. 146 (CCT BnF, vol. 6, p. 563): 五□□行 ... 比□死更苦 = 五司不行 ... 比他死更苦; p. 147 (p. 566): 主報□□ = 主報之有; p. 156 (p. 614): 或以□□天主堂 ... 所遺□子孫 = 或以修蓋天主堂 ... 所遺子子孫。

extended, but the Chinese edition of which (entitled *Wanguo tuzhi* 萬國圖志) was never published or even completed. It formed the basis from which Aleni composed his *Zhifang waiji*, as he tells in his 1623 preface (apparently not only extending it, but also omitting parts).<sup>17</sup> Therefore Wang Zheng's two quotations are close to *Zhifang waiji* but also different from it. Given Wang's relation with De Pantoja, it does not surprise that he quoted, in addition to *Qike*, another text composed by De Pantoja (and De Ursis). Summarizing, the text of *Renhui yue* is, apart from the statutes (ff. 6-10), a compilation of citations from Jesuit texts, mainly Rho's *Aijin xing quan* 哀矜行詮, but also Vagnone's *Jiaoyao jielie* 教要解略, De Pantoja's *Qike* 七克<sup>18</sup> and finally the description of European charitable institutions in *Wanguo dihai quantu* 萬國地海全圖 by De Pantoja and & De Ursis.

The present unique printed copy of *Renhuiyue* has only an introduction by Wang Zheng himself.<sup>19</sup> As this copy is especially defective at the very end (see above note 15), one wonders whether the original copy contained the postface by Zhang Bingxuan and the short note by Shang Yingchang, which are found in the Zikawei manuscript copy of 1885.<sup>20</sup> The present last folio (Chinois 7348) is damaged at several spots so it is not impossible that there were two or three folios more, which may have been even more damaged and eventually were lost. That the last five 'columns' of folio 44b are blank (see p. 616) does not necessarily mean that this was the last folio, because all parts or sections of *Renhui yue* start on a new folio (not on a new half-folio or page), see especially the blank columns or blank half-folios on p. 528 (after Wang Zheng's introduction), pp. 547/548 (f. 10), pp. 559/560 (f. 16) and p. 598 (f. 35).

<sup>17</sup> See note 9. For these maps and titles (萬國地海全圖 / 萬國圖志), see the memorial (autumn 1612) by De Pantoja and De Ursis in *Xichao chongzheng ji* in Han Qi 韓琦 & Wu Min 吳旻 (eds.), *Xichao chongzheng ji, Xichao ding'an* (wai san zhong) 熙朝崇正集: 熙朝定案 (外三種), Beijing, 2006, pp. 26-28; see also Xie Fang 謝方 (ed.), *Zhifang waiji jiaoshi* 職方外紀校釋, Beijing, 1996, pp. 17-19. For the question of Aleni's source, see also Xie Fang's preface in Xie Fang 1996, pp. 3-4 (Aleni and Li Zhizao in their prefaces to *Zhifang waiji*); cf. Luk Hung-kay, "A study of Giulio Aleni's 'Chih-fang wai-chi'", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African studies* 40 (1977), [pp. 58-84] p. 77, note 31.

<sup>18</sup> Also quoted in Wang Zheng's introduction: ff. 2a2-2b1 (pp. 525-526) = *Qike*, juan 2, f. 13b5-10 (TXCH, vol. 2, p. 818).

<sup>19</sup> For the greatest part translated by Zhircher (see above note 3), see the successive quotations on pp. 275-278.

<sup>20</sup> For the Chinese text of the postface and note (1980s copy in Leiden), see the CCT-database sub *Ren hui yue* ([http://www.artis.kulieven.be/info/eng/OE\\_sinoologie/CCT/](http://www.artis.kulieven.be/info/eng/OE_sinoologie/CCT/)).

The author of the short note about the printing of *Renhui jue* (刻仁會約小音), Shang Yingchang 尚應昌 (*zi* 文伯) is not further known to me, but he most probably was a relative of Wang Zheng. In 1585, Wang had married a daughter of Shang Xiu'an 尚修菴 (not further known). The latter was an uncle of Bingxuan (his father Zhang Jian had married a Shang, who died in January 1629 and was a sister of Shang Xiu'an).<sup>21</sup>

While thus far we did not know "to what extent Wang Zheng's Humanitarian Society has ever functioned in practice" (Zürcher, p. 281), Shang's note tell us that Wang asked him to serve as manager 督<sup>22</sup> of this society and that the first thing Shang did was to have *Renhui jue* printed, so that every member should get a copy, and in this way the 'humanitarian society' might spread everywhere. Shang evidently was a Christian, as he mentions the Lord of Heaven four times (including once *tian shang zhu* 天上主), for example quoting Wang Zheng (良甫先生) who said to him: "The Lord of Heaven is our Great Father-and-Mother."<sup>23</sup>

Unlike Shang Yingchang, the author of the preceding postface is a well-known relative: Zhang Bingxuan (1587-1661), a cousin of Wang Zheng. Wang's mother (1551-1595) was a sister of Zhang Jian 張鑑 (1545-1605), the father of Zhang Bingxuan and the main teacher of Wang Zheng. He was the only person present when Wang died after seven days of voluntary starvation (Lin 2011, p. 398; cf. p. 419), and composed the first biography of Wang (Lin 2011, pp. 398-401: ... 端簡先生 葵心王公傳). Very recently, during the relocation of the tomb of Wang Zheng and family, an epitaph (*muzhi ming*) for Wang Zheng, composed by Zhang Bingxuan, was discovered in that tomb.<sup>24</sup> Zhang

<sup>21</sup> Lin 2011, pp. 344-345 (參尚宜人文), 368, 378 (sub 1585), 391 (sub 1629). According to the recently found epitaph by Zhang Bingxuan (see below), Shang Xiu'an was registered 簿 in Zhangming 彰明 district in Long'an 龍安 Prefecture (in Northern Sichuan and bordering Shenxi).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the section "hui zhi du" 會之督 (ff. 7b6-8a1) of the statutes (translation: Zürcher, p. 284).

<sup>23</sup> See also Wang's intro, f. 1b (p. 524; Zürcher, p. 276) and his *Meitian airen jilun* (Lin 2011, p. 124). For the idea of God as the Great Father-and-Mother, see Nicolaas Standaert, *Yang Tingyun, Confucian and Christian in late Ming China* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), pp. 116-117: examples in texts by early 17th-century missionaries and the converts Yang Tingyun (1557-1627), Li Zhizao (1571-1630) and Wang Zhang.

<sup>24</sup> For a text edition and a first study of it, see Ding Ruizhong 丁銳中, "Zhang Bingxuan 'Wang Zheng muzhi ming' diaojiao ji chubu tanxi" 張炳璋《王徵墓志銘》点校及初步探析, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, 2012, no. 1, pp. 118-125. Data from it Ding already used in his article about Wang's taking a concubine and his

also composed a eulogy on the portrait of Wang (... 端節王公像識, Lin 2011, p. 420), in which he characterized Wang as follows:

"Diligently, he stood in awe of Heaven and loved others; although he seemed to crave for the study of Jesus, this was just a manifestation of his lifelong fondness for curiosities. What remained amidst that all, was solely a fundamental loyalty and filial piety, one continuous line [of behaviour] to the end, unchanged by whatever wind (custom)."  
孜孜乎畏愛天人, 雖似癖耶穌之學, 此生平好奇則然。  
然中之所存, 壹以忠孝為基, 一線到底, 八風弗移。

In the chapter on Wang Zheng (pp. 131-174) in his *Liangyou she* (2005), Huang Yilong 黃一農 quotes this statement in order to show that after all Wang had proven himself to be in reality a Confucianist (p. 168).<sup>25</sup> According to Fang Hao 方豪 (1910-1980), however, this statement of Zhang Bingxuan shows that Zhang, although well acquainted with Wang, had not really known him.<sup>26</sup>

In his postface to Wang's *Renhui jue*, Zhang does not speak of Jesus<sup>27</sup> or even explicitly of the Lord of Heaven. Zhang opens with quoting the *Xining* (Western martyrdom for the Ming dynasty (suicide)): "Wangmo Qingchu Ruijiao yu Tianzhujiao de chongzhuang yu tiaoshi: Wang Zheng de 'na que' yu 'xun Ming'" 明末清初儒教與天主教的冲撞與調適: 王徵的"殉教"與"殉明" in: *Lanchow daxue xuebao* 蘭州大學學報 (Shehui kexue ban 社會科學版), 40.1 (Jan. 2012), pp. 25-30.

<sup>25</sup> *Liangyou she: Mingmo Qingchu de diyi dai Tianzhujiao ren* 兩頭蛇: 明末清初的第一代天主教徒, Taipei: Guoli Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2005. See also p. 250 ("Even though he was interested in Daoism, and converted to Catholicism, he remained a Confucian scholar") of Zhang Baichun 張柏春 & Tian Miao 田淼, "Wang Zheng (1571-1644)" in: Marco Ceccarelli (ed.), *Distinguished figures in mechanism and machine science: Their contributions and legacies, Part 2*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2010, pp. 247-259 (cf. p. 249; "In 1634, he established a Catholic society, 'Ren Hou' (Benevolence Society), framing its 'Rules' [...]").

<sup>26</sup> See p. 329 (cf. p. 333) of "Wang Zheng zhi shiji ji qi shuru xiayang xueshu zhi gongxian" 王徵之事蹟及其輸入西洋學術之貢獻 in: *Fang Hao liushi ziding gao* 方豪六十自定稿 (Taipei 1969), vol. 1, pp. 319-378 (published in Dec. 1964 in *Guoli Taiwan daxue wen shi zhi xuebao* no. 13; revised in July 1968). For Wang's relationship with Zhang, see also Wang's congratulatory essay for Zhang in Lin 2011, pp. 352-354 (in 1639 Zhang Bingxuan became magistrate of Manchong 滿城 district in Baoding Prefecture, southwest of Beijing), and a letter of Wang to Zhang (與張德昭書), Lin 2011, p. 318.

<sup>27</sup> Except for the Society of Jesus, when he speaks of Rho, based on whose teaching Wang established the 'humanitarian society': 房者畏天愛人極論。轉言胞與之意甚詳。今復依大西儒耶穌會羅先生所傳。立為仁會 (*dao yu* 胞與 refers to 'Western Inscription', see below). Notice that Wang composed his *Meitian airen jilun* for his 'brothers' (兄弟), possibly including his cousin Zhang (see Standaert [see above note 7], p. 186,

Inscription) of Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077): 西銘云。民吾同胞。物吾與也 ("All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions"), which inscription is also 'quoted' by Wang Zheng in his introduction (p. 526: 使之存以願, 歿以寧) and which inscription itself starts: 乾坤父, 坤稱母 ("Heaven [qian] is my father and Earth [kun] is my mother").<sup>29</sup> So Zhang, in contradistinction to Wang and also Yang Tingyun,<sup>29</sup> regards Heaven and Earth (and not the Lord of Heaven) as the Great Father-and-Mother 天地為大父母。<sup>30</sup>

Although in his postface Zhang takes the Western scholars (西儒) as brothers, in the sense of the 'Western Inscription',<sup>31</sup> they are different too: for them loving Heaven is more important than honouring Heaven (西儒學本尊天。尊天愛天。果以愛天為主). Nevertheless, he recommends to readers the Humanitarian Society: "I wish that those who enter this society first should know Heaven and that, knowing Heaven, they first should acknowledge its lord. Let everyone each day rely on its so-called Great Father-and-Mother" (吾願入此會者。先須知天知天先須認主。請人人日日占依其所謂大父母). Zhang's wish evokes the question whether Wang's *renhui* 仁會 was only for Christians, as some say,<sup>32</sup> or for non-Christians too.<sup>33</sup>

note 79). Notice too that in *Renhui yue* by way of the quotations from Jesuit texts (see above) Jesus 耶穌 figures several times: f. 11b9 (p. 550), 13a6 (553), 16a5 (559), 19a4 (565), 22a1 (571), 25a7 (577), 32a8 (591).

<sup>29</sup> Lin 2011, p. 140 (Wang's intro), note 1: 張載《正蒙·乾稱篇》云: "存, 吾順事; 歿, 吾寧也。" (On life, I follow and serve [Heaven and Earth]. In death I will be at peace). For a translation of *Xining*, see Chuan Wing-ist 陳雲棲 (trl. & comp.), *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (1963; Princeton paperback, 1969, 1973), pp. 497-498. *Xining* is originally a part of Zhang Zai's *Zhengmeng* (正蒙 Correcting youthful ignorance), essay 17 (乾稱篇). Cf. Zhang Zai 張載集 (ed. by Zhang Xichen 章錫珙, Beijing, 1978, reprint 2008), pp. 62-63.

<sup>29</sup> Standaert [see above note 23], pp. 114, 117 (*Shengshui jiyuan*), p. 120 (Yang's preface to Pantoja's *Qike*).

<sup>30</sup> The 1885 ms. copy reads 天地, but to the right of 地 there is 帝 (in the space between the columns). Taking this as a correction, the Leiden copy, made of it in the 1980s, dropped 地 and merely reads *tian di* 天帝. Still *tian di* 天地 might be the correct reading (cf. the beginning of Zhang Man's preface (1628) to Wang's *Weitian airen jiyun* "... 武王曰天地萬物父母" (see Lin 2011, p. 117; BnF Chinois 6868, f. 1a4).

<sup>31</sup> See especially the end of the postface: 若夫良甫先生。章戴西儒之學。叮嚀陸次。咀發至理。尤移胞與民物。東西先後。有同襟也。愛人之義。錫類斯無窮哉。

<sup>32</sup> See A. Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* [ECCP] (Washington 1943-1944), "Wang Cheng" (by Yang Ju-chin & Wang Chung-min), col. 809, 1: "an organization of his friends and relatives for mutual improvement in Christian knowledge and activity" (cf. Lin 2011, p. 416). Cf. Standaert (see above note 7), p. 187: "*Renhuiyue*, which, with its many more [than in *Weitian airen jiyun*] quotations from Bible or explicit references to Jesus and Western saints, was clearly meant for an inner circle of Christians" (see also p. 175). Cf.

## Abbreviated titles

Lin 2011:

Lin Lechang 林樂昌 (ed.), *Wang Zheng quanji* 王徵全集, Xi'an 西安: Sanqin 三秦, 2011 (Dec.).

Xu 1949:

Xu Zongze 徐宗澤, *Ming Qing jian yesu huishi yizhi tujiao* 明清間耶穌會士譯著提要, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1949; reprints: 2006 (Shanghai shudian 書店), 2010 (Shanghai shiji 世紀).

CCT ARSI:

*Yesuhui Luoma dang'anguan Ming Qing tianzhujiao wenxian* 耶穌會羅馬檔案館明清天主教文獻 (Chinese Christian texts from the National Library of France / Textes chrétiens chinois de la Bibliothèque nationale de France), Taipei 台北: Ricci Institute 利氏學社, 2009, edited by Nicolas Standaert 鐘鳴旦, Ad Dudink 杜鼎克 and Nathalie Monnet 蒙藏, 26 volumes.

CCT BnF:

*Faguo guojia tusi guanyan Ming Qing tianzhujiao wenxian* 法國國家圖書館明清天主教文獻 (Chinese Christian texts from the National Library of France / Textes chrétiens chinois de la Bibliothèque nationale de France), Taipei 台北: Ricci Institute 利氏學社, 2009, edited by Nicolas Standaert 鐘鳴旦, Ad Dudink 杜鼎克 and Nathalie Monnet 蒙藏, 26 volumes.

TXCH:

Tang Kaijian 湯開建 & Zhang Zhongpeng 張中鵬, "Yan Ming renhui kao" 晚明仁會考 in: *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 2010:6, pp. 106-118, esp. pp. 113-114 (Wang Zheng's *Renhui yue*).

<sup>33</sup> Johanna Handlin Smith, *The art of doing good: Charity in Late Ming China* (Berkeley: UCP, 2009), p. 253: "Still, Wang's society did not require that its members believe in Christianity, and the Christian vocabulary appears simply to have glossed a traditional Chinese agenda" (note 31 on p. 344 refers to ECCP, Standaert [see above note 23] and Zürcher [see above note 3]). Cf. Standaert, p. 66: the humanitarian societies (*renhui*) of Yang Tingyun and Wang Zheng "had an exclusively charitable purpose, and belief in Christianity is not mentioned as a condition to join the society" and Zürcher, p. 279: "The Society is open to men of virtually all social classes (gentry, civil and military officials, nobility and members of rich families, as well as simple peasants, merchants, and artisans), the only exception being that no Buddhist or Taoist priests may become members."

Li Zhizao (ed.), *Tianxue chuhun* 天學初函 (1626), 6 vols., published in Wu Xiangxiang 吳相湘 (ed.), *Zhongguo shixue congshu* 中國史學叢書, no. 23, Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1965.

For an 'addendum', see the next page  
(that is SWCRJ 37/2015, p. 91)

## Addendum

Addendum to article "The Zikawei 徐家匯 Manuscript Copy (1885) of Wang Zheng's Renhui yue 仁會約 (1634) [revised, with footnotes]" (SWCRJ xxxvi 2014, pp. 14-24).

On p. 19, I suggested that the last folios in Chinois 7348 may have contained the postface 跋 by Zhang Bingxuan 張炳璿 and the note 小言 by Shang Yingchang 尚應昌, but being damaged they eventually got lost. A 'review' of *Renhui yue* written by Francesco Iovino da Ottaviano (1677-1737), in his letter of 17 July 1730, sent from Lanzhou 蘭州 (Gansu), indicates these folios may have been removed intentionally, because of the use of the term Tian 天 for 'God' (prohibited by the Constitution *Ex illa die* of 1715):

(f. 317v) Gin hoey yo 仁會約 [...] (f. 318r) In operis calce habet veluti prologus cuiusdam Giang ping siuen 張炳璿 Authoris consanguinei, qui cum sit emendasse difficilis, satius illum rescindendum esse censeo. (the Chinese characters were supplied by Iovino.) // (f. 318r) At the end of the writing there is, as if it were, a prologue by some Giang ping siuen, a blood-relative of the author, which is difficult to be corrected and therefore it would be better, in my opinion, to remove it.

For the source, see Francesco D'Arelli, "Manuscript notes of Carlo Horatii da Castorano O.F.M. and Francesco da Ottaviano O.F.M. on some of Aleni's Chinese writings" in: Tiziana Lippiello / Roman Malek (eds.), *Scholar from the West: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) and the dialogue between Christianity and China* (Sankt Augustin, 1997), p. 448 (forty three books checked in 1730 and to be corrected, ff. 308r-318v; *Renhui yue* is no. 40).

Ad Dudink 杜鼎克

## Corrigendum

In note 2 to Part IV of the Translation of the Journal of Lucas Augustinus Ly (Li Shiyin 李世音, Chinese Catholic Priest (SWCRJ, vol. 36, p. 60), I tentatively identified Ma tchaou tchu as Joachim Enjober de Martilat, vicar apostolic and administrator of the mission in Sichuan. (Ma was Martilat's Chinese name.) In fact Ma tchaou tchu was certainly Ma Chaozhu 馬朝柱, leader of a messianic rebellion in 1750-1752. Ma Chaozhu's case is discussed by Barend J. ter Haar, *Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), esp. pp. 236-262. I am grateful to Ad Dudink for identifying Ma tchaou tchu as Ma Chaozhu.

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